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Human Events YOUR WASHINGTON SERVICE

Vol. XVIII, No. 45 November 10, 1961 Section I — News

WALKER: *Shades of "Billy" Mitchell* .....(747)

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Walker Resigns: The resignation of Major General Edwin A. Walker last week rang a loud bell on Capitol Hill which can't forget the martyrdom and resignation of Colonel "Billy" Mitchell in 1925-26.

Mitchell paid for his tenacious insistence on expanding air power, when the top brass court martialed him (and presumably thought they had him silenced). But Mitchell, like Walker today, did the "ultimate," which mighty few officers dare to do. He did not "retire"; he resigned from the US Army. He thereby forfeited his pension rights, which most military officers can ill afford to do. Thereby, Mitchell became poor in income, but rich in freedom—to fight for a real defense for America; in the years following, he waged an uncensored crusade which eventually made the US supreme in air power.

Last week, Walker—with full knowledge of the penalty he must pay for freedom to fight communism—signed away his rights to a pension. Few civilians realize the difference between "retirement" and "resignation." If an officer retires, he receives a pension, but remains governed by military regulations; he may still be disciplined by the top brass, and loss of pension is a fearsome threat. He does not enjoy complete freedom of political action.

However, if he resigns he is completely out from under military regulations. No loss of pension rights hangs over his head, for he has signed them away. No military discipline can prevent him from speaking his mind.

Intimates today believe Walker will now actively enter the political arena.* Thus Walker will enjoy greater freedom than does General Van Fleet (retired, *not resigned*) who suffered some unhappy moments earlier last week because of statements he reportedly made. All this assumes that the Department of the Army will accept Walker's resignation.

One of the startling disclosures in Walker's statement to the Senate Armed Services Subcommittee was that once before Walker offered his resignation to the Army—a fact never before made public. On August 4, 1959, Walker, then commander in Little Rock, was assigned to a command in Europe. He resigned in a letter in which he said:

"It is fair to say that in my opinion the fifth column conspiracy and influence in the US minimize or nullify the effectiveness of my ideals and principles, military mission and objectives and the necessary American public spirit to support sons and soldiers. I have no further desire for military service at this time with this conspiracy and its influences on the home front."

The Army at that time declined to accept his resignation. Reportedly the Army will accept his resignation now.

Today, around Washington, this moving document is being likened to General MacArthur's "generals fade away" address to Congress. Walker, however, does not strike the "fade" note. On the contrary, he quotes a Marine General who says to his men: "We are surrounded. We must not let them get away." (For complete text of the Walker statement, see Section VI.)

Over Half Way With Barry: The nation-wide publication last week of the results of the HUMAN EVENTS poll of 1960 National Convention delegates nailed down for all to see the incontrovertible fact that Senator Barry Goldwater at the present time is the clear preference of the Republican party for Presidential nomination in 1964. Out of the votes cast for the three leading contenders, Goldwater received 53 per cent, Richard Nixon 30 per cent and Nelson Rockefeller 17 per cent. In short, the votes for the Arizonan were substantially more numerous than the combined votes for his two most likely contestants.

The press—including the New York *Times*, Baltimore *Sun*, Chicago *Tribune*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News* and many other organs across the country—indicated considerable interest by their coverage of the poll results. It remains to be seen how fairly they will interpret and recognize the significance of these statistics.

On Capitol Hill, the pros—not all of them completely surprised—give the phenomenon earnest thought. Even those who have been well-wishers of Goldwater for a long time do not draw the conclusion that it will be "Barry all the way." Lots of things can happen in three years.

* Some Texas politicos believe Walker would be a natural to win some Texas congressional race. Conservatives in the 4th District (Sam Rayburn's) are already discussing the possibility.

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But what they all say is—this confronts Goldwater with the biggest challenge of his career so far.

First of all, he must achieve brilliant results from his efforts to elect and re-elect a large number of Republican Senators. This is his task as Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. He must demonstrate that he can transfer his personal popularity to the fighting GOP candidates next year.

But he must also make the Big Decision—to set his course for winning the GOP nomination in 1964. Publicly, he need not do this; he may well stick to his official aim of electing GOP Senators in 1962. But privately, he must make up his mind if he's going to seek the crown in 1964—and shape his plans accordingly. The time is now.

If he decides in the affirmative, he must by January 1, 1962—so say the pros—set up a formidable apparatus to organize properly the tremendous national following he has attracted. Professional opinion suggests that he obtain at least five highly competent technicians to head a large staff of workers, researchers, etc. He must do this, for his following will expect a smooth, hard-hitting but effective operation. He must be able to talk authoritatively on a dozen issues; he must be briefed—for instance—as well as GOP National Chairman William E. Miller is for the latter's television appearances. He can no longer risk "playing it by ear," a dangerous practice into which his informal inclinations have led him for too long.

It is emphasized by his professional well-wishers that Goldwater must do all this, for he will now be up against a technically-proficient, well-staffed and handsomely-financed adversary, New York's Governor Rockefeller. (Nixon is now counted out for '64 by the pros.)

Nixon predicted last week that it will be Rocky and Barry bidding for delegates and votes in the primaries of 1964. No one disagrees. And Rocky's brain trusters, it is said, have no illusions—Rocky is now the underdog in the GOP; he must win away from Barry masses of people in the grass roots (whose support the HUMAN EVENTS poll indicates Rockefeller does not possess now).

Furthermore, some pros speculate that the man in Albany—recognizing the national trend is conservatism—may incline his course to the Right (he's already shown a few signs of doing so). If this occurs, although it is not certain that it will, a battle royal for the next three years will decide the fate of the GOP.

JFK's Economy Stunt: The President, as reported by the press, has "acted" to cut down Federal government spending—that is, he has acted "verbally." With full panoply of "public relations" techniques, the President stated his economy order to the Cabinet and chiefs of Federal agencies. Whatever effect this stunt has had on the rest of the country, no one in Washington takes it seriously. The huge appropriations which the President pressured out of Congress have been voted and Congress is now absent.

As everyone in the Nation's Capital knows, nothing can be done to reduce expenditures now, unless the President gives specific instructions to the Departments, agencies and the Budget Bureau on how much to cut and where. All he did was to issue a very general order. The country does not know, but Washington does, that the impelling motive of every bureau and subdivision is to spend at the very least every cent which has been appropriated; unless they do, they will be hard put to persuade Congress to give them as much if not more in their next requests for appropriations.

If President Kennedy had been in earnest, he would have followed a concrete prescription for cutting expenditures offered by Maurice Stans, the last Director of the Budget under Eisenhower. Stans used the Post Office Department as an example, saying that if appropriations covered the cost of sending out an estimated 65 billion pieces of mail, and it later turned out that some two billion less would actually be handled, then the Budget Bureau should impound the amount not needed.

The President's handling of this matter exemplified what many of his colleagues in the Senate remarked for years about the man from Massachusetts. He was given to issuing statements—brilliantly phrased—which seemed to mean something definite; but when closely examined, they meant nothing so far as real action was concerned. This JFK idiosyncrasy, in regard to the Berlin situation, recently prompted James Reston of the New York *Times* to write: "He talks like Churchill; but acts like Neville Chamberlain."

It was sardonically noted that JFK was quite specific, however, in cutting appropriations for the B-52 bomber and the development of the B-70. Although professing to be arming to the teeth to warn Khrushchev, he pared a service which the Red Czar fears the most. Meanwhile, the President has ordered no equally specific cuts in such non-defense spending programs as reclamation (under the Interior Department), public power, urban redevelopment, etc.

Nuclear Testing: On October 13, HUMAN EVENTS scored a clear beat on the world press by foreshadowing just what is happening now about nuclear testing. We warned that it would become crystal clear that the US would have to resume atmospheric testing, but that—unless we started to do so immediately as of that date—the Soviets and the "mushhead" opinion in this country and Britain would build up a public-opinion atmosphere of alarm about the dangers of fallout from such testing; and the US would suffer from this pressure and from a silly debate on whether we should do so or not.

In Washington, no responsible expert believes that, if we launch nuclear tests in the atmosphere, fallout will have any effects on health. Obviously,

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we cannot afford to delay further tests, unless we want to risk our whole survival. Therefore, Capitol Hill looks anxiously but—as a result of eight months' experience—skeptically to the White House for leadership in this vital decision. It is felt that if Congress were in session, there would be overwhelming support for a resolution demanding resumption of atmospheric tests.

Political Commissars: Under the guise of civilian control, the Administration has quietly endorsed a move to saturate our major defense agencies with soft-boiled policy makers from the State Department. Irreverently referred to as "political commissars" (a favorite device of Nazi Germany, incidentally), they have infiltrated the Defense Department, military schools, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Atomic Energy Commission.

The major task of these commissars is to oversee both speeches and policy and to ensure that all decisions are in line with State Department thinking. The architects behind this policy, spurred on by criticisms of Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright against the hard line on communism by the military, are Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Kennedy's kitchen cabinet, McGeorge Bundy, Paul Nitze and Walt Whitman Rostow. This Harvard-MIT axis has been so fearful of ideas at variance with its own that it persuaded the President earlier this year to abolish the Operations Coordinating Board and turn its functions over to the State Department.

The OCB had formerly been used by both Eisenhower and Truman to implement decisions of the top strategic planning board, the National Security Council. The State Department clique, however, wanted the OCB abolished because of its undue "military influence" on policy.

In its fervor to crack down on those expressing a "hard line" on foreign policy, the Administration has appointed the following State Department personnel to oversee the military: Edward Freer has been appointed to the Strategic Air Command, Roy Rubottom will oversee the Naval War College and Clare Timberlake has been appointed to Maxwell Air Force Base. (Rubottom is frequently blamed for our policy which led to Castro's victory over Batista in Cuba.) More political advisers will soon be sent to other military posts.

The effect of the State Department power grab, say informants, has been to strain any anti-Communist toughness out of decisions made by officials outside the Department. It is noted with particular concern that General Maxwell Taylor has taken along on his trip to Southeast Asia one of the chief architects of this plan, the above-mentioned Rostow. Rostow opposes guerilla action by the Western powers in Communist countries and his views are expected to blunt considerably Taylor's recommendations for free world action in Asia.

A-Aid to Reds: The Administration has given tentative approval for sending atomic radiation equipment to the Communist nation of Czechoslovakia. The equipment, to be used ostensibly for medical research, has definite military potential, according to an atomic expert queried by HUMAN EVENTS.

Disclosure of the approval was made by Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, in closed-door testimony before a special House committee investigating trade with the enemy. Seaborg's testimony was revealed by Representative Paul Kitchin, chairman of the five-man committee. He said that Seaborg informed the committee that the AEC had not objected to approval of the export license.

Seaborg told the committee that no other atomic material or equipment of any kind had been cleared for export to the Soviet bloc. Obviously not included in that category is Communist Yugoslavia, which has received nuclear aid from Uncle Sam.

The State Department confirmed on October 26 that a deal concluded last year provided for this country to ship Tito a nuclear reactor, and that the Reds are anxious to buy two more. In separate programs, the Department announced, groups of Yugoslav atomic scientists have been trained by US experts in this country.

UN's New Chief: Many observers here are considerably concerned over United States insistence that Burmese diplomat U Thant replace Dag Hammarskjold as Secretary General of the United Nations. The Afro-Asian bloc wields ever-increasing power in that organization and it is hardly expected that U Thant, from neutralist Burma, will make decisions contrary to the wishes of this group.

U Thant is also considered something of a "weak sister" who would stand up to the Russians even less firmly than did the late Swedish diplomat. Burma, itself, has become increasingly friendly toward the Communist bloc in recent years. Examples are numerous where Burma has even been discriminating against its own anti-Communist inhabitants.

Recently the Burmese government forbade the free Chinese community in Rangoon, Burma's capital, to give an official welcome to the vice-president of Formosa's Boy Scouts. Observance of Red Chinese holidays is actively encouraged among the Chinese immigrants by the "neutral" Burmese government, although it forbids the celebration of holidays commemorated by the Chinese Nationalists.

Just this past spring, Ba Sein, leader of the Burmese pro-Western party, was imprisoned for five months so he would be unable to attend the Asian Peoples Anti-Communist League meeting in Manila.

H. EVAN ZEIGLER, Business Manager, Howard College, Birmingham, Alabama: "I appreciate the keen and penetrating analysis of national and international affairs from the Constitutional viewpoint presented by HUMAN EVENTS."

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What is also of extraordinary concern in the Nation's Capital is Adlai Stevenson's remark that the United States had made an "enormous concession" to the Russians in agreeing to a new set-up of the Secretariat. Under the proposed setup, the Secretariat will suffer from the red tape of having to consult with five undersecretaries and it is believed that Adlai has gone along with Soviet demands to deny an undersecretaryship to a Western European.

Security Sieve: John W. Hanes, Jr., former Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs in the State Department, has branded as "shocking" a White House-approved plan to transfer security investigations of State Department employees to the Civil Service Commission.

"It makes no sense whatsoever," said Hanes, who from 1959 to 1961 was in charge of State Department security. "The State Department must have the ability to protect itself and protection must include personnel security. The job can in no way be performed by routine checks of the Civil Service Commission," explained Hanes.

He further told HUMAN EVENTS that the CSC has not the capability to carry on checks of personnel overseas, nor has it been equipped to handle sensitive agencies of the government. "The proposal represents a total failure of the Administration to understand what is involved," said the former Central Intelligence Agency official.

The proposal to alter the functions of the Bureau is supposedly the recommendation of Salvatore Bontempo, the newly-appointed chief of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs. However, it is believed by many that Bontempo, whose closest previous brush with security procedures was as New Jersey's Conservation Commissioner, is not the author of the plan. They consider Bontempo, whose appointment caused a storm of criticism during the recent session of Congress, a front man for both White House and State Department egg-heads who have been extremely critical of security procedures established by Eisenhower.

Pro-Union NLRB: Weakening by Congress of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin laws regulating labor unions seems no more likely in the next session than at any other time since they were enacted. But union bosses are of good cheer —they believe the so-called "Kennedy" National Labor Relations Board is doing much of the job for them, and will continue that course.

This situation has developed through changes in interpretations of the laws. The tendency has been marked since two Kennedy appointees—Chairman Frank W. McCulloch and Gerald A. Brown—took their seats. They joined John H. Fanning, a hold-over Democrat, in making up a pro-union majority. They can and do outvote two old members, former Chairman Boyd Leedom and Philip Ray Rodgers.

Important reversals of "Eisenhower Board" policies: Holding that employers must bargain with unions, even in right-to-work states, over the "agency shop," under which non-members must pay fees to a union; easing restrictions on picketing; ordering "foreign flag" ships making American ports to bargain even with foreign unions; extending NLRB jurisdiction into new fields.

Word from inside the board is that these examples are only the beginning in actions that the dissenting members declare are contrary to what Congress intended.

The Sorensen Brothers: Recent publicity about the deferred-draft status of Presidential Assistant "Ted" Sorensen during the Korean War has brought to light that his brother, Thomas Sorensen, was promoted from an $11,000 to an $18,000 job in the US Information Agency. This happened soon after the Kennedy Administration took charge. Thomas Sorensen had been a desk officer in USIA, but was made "Deputy Director for Policy" under Director Edward R. Murrow. Thus, there is a direct check on Murrow—Sorensen-to-Sorensen-to-Kennedy.

TV Front: The television presentation of the Southern California Anti-Communist School—first given national press notice by HUMAN EVENTS on September 15—after expanding to cover the whole West Coast and adjoining Mountain States, has now jumped across the continent and made an appearance via video tape in New York.

WPIX, New York's leading independent television station, cancelled its regularly scheduled commercial programs to present the timely, three-hour "Hollywood's Answer to Communism" program. Film actor George Murphy appeared live to host the New York showing sponsored by the Eversharp Division of Schick Safety Razor Company and Technicolor, Inc.

Schick, impressed with the commercial success of its Los Angeles sponsorship of the second series, decided to follow through with the New York sales market. The Richfield Oil Corporation, sponsor of the original L. A. program, was similarly pleased with the show's audience appeal and sales response.

The Los Angeles Times Broadcasting Co. (KTTV), which started the programs August 28, had speculated correctly that West Coast success would lead to country-wide sponsored TV programs of no-nonsense anti-communism. Television trade circles now speculate as to which stations in other parts of the country will join what sponsors apparently find a rewarding bandwagon.

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The Role of Harry Truman

The Real Story Behind Berlin

By CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL

AS THE AVERAGE AMERICAN scans the headlines in his daily newspaper, he is constantly trying to estimate just when the cold war will turn into atomic conflict. For many months this cold war has had a focal point in the question of Berlin.

Since last January we have had assurances that the government of the United States will not recede from any basic positions in Germany which are fundamental to the security of this country and the Western powers. President Kennedy insists that he will not proceed according to any "rigid formula" and that there is room for negotiations that will provide a satisfactory settlement of questions that clamor for immediate answer.

To millions of Americans a question still persists concerning the nature of this settlement. Will it be some form of appeasement that will mark another Russian victory in the dark story of Russian-American relations? Does President Kennedy have any clear vision of the real factors that lie behind the Berlin situation?

The ominous aspects of this situation began to be evident in 1944 when the surge of the victorious Red tide threatened to inundate a good part of Western Europe. Winston Churchill, with his intimate knowledge of all the cross-currents in European power politics, greatly feared the implications of the sweep of this tide into the heart of the West. In the latter part of March, 1945, his anxieties caused him to make searching inquiries of General Dwight D. Eisenhower as to the main points of Eisenhower's strategy concerning the final operations against the German armies.

Ike's reply, on March 30, indicated that he intended to "drive eastward to join hands with the Russians." The "axis Kassel-Leipzig is the best for the drive." Two days before, Ike had sent a telegram to Stalin advising him of his latest plans. He had not thought it necessary to advise the British Air Chief (Marshal Tedder) of this new plan.

Churchill and the British Chiefs of Staff resented the fact that they had not been directly consulted about Ike's latest plan of operations and they raised doubts about the merits of the plan itself. The British Prime Minister believed that Ike was wrong in pushing his drive along the Leipzig-Dresden axis which would obviate the capture of Berlin.

In a telegram to British General Ismay on March 31, Churchill made his point of view very clear:

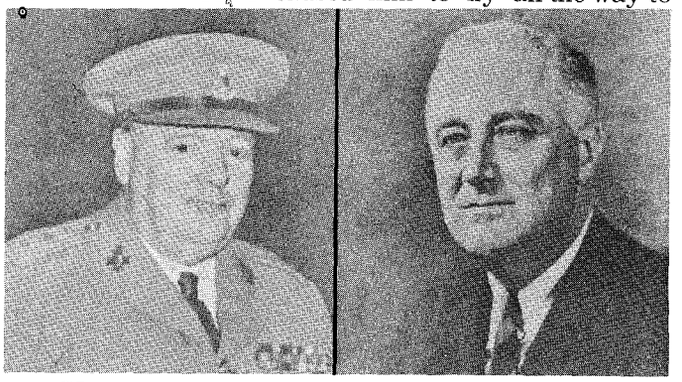
> "General Eisenhower may be wrong in supposing Berlin to be largely devoid of military and political importance . . . The idea of neglecting Berlin and leaving it to the Russians to take at a later stage does not appear to me to be correct."

In a cablegram to President Roosevelt on April 1, 1945, Churchill repeated this line of criticism:

> "I say quite frankly that Berlin remains of high strategic importance. Nothing will exert a psychological effect of despair upon all German forces of resistance equal to the fall of Berlin . . . We should march as far east into Germany as possible."

THESE TELEGRAMS of Churchill reflected a deep suspicion of the real motives of the Russians as they poured into Germany through the breaks in the lines of the German armed forces. Recently it has been stated that Ike himself shared these same suspicions.

In a conversation with Henry R. Luce, reproduced in *Life* magazine on September 8, 1961, Ike stated that his apprehensions of Russian motives as early as the autumn of 1944 caused him to fly all the way to



CHURCHILL *ROOSEVELT*

Washington to warn President Roosevelt to be wary of the tricky Muscovites. He was particularly disturbed about the talk of dividing Germany into zones of occupation for the troops of the allied powers.

When he reached Washington he found the President in bed with an attack of influenza. "This is my pet," he told the President. "Let's not have separate occupation zones in Germany. Instead let's have joint allied administration of the whole country." "Impossible," Roosevelt replied: "I'm already committed."

Roosevelt's commitment referred to the action taken by the European Advisory Commission, on September 12, 1944, and subsequently on November 14, 1944, with reference to outlining zones of occupation in Germany for the troops of Soviet Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States. Supreme authority in Germany was to be exercised by the commanders-in-chief of the armed forces of the three powers, who, acting together as a body, would constitute the supreme organ of control called the Control Council. In each zone the commander-in-chief would be in complete authority.

But the partition of Germany into three occupation zones was soon modified. In January, 1945, the French Provisional Government made a request for an occupation zone in Germany. Churchill strongly favored this French request, which was vigorously opposed by Stalin. It was apparent that a meeting of the Big Three would soon have to be summoned to settle the problems that were insistently pressing for an adequate solution. This situation led to the calling of the Conference of Yalta, February 4-11, 1945.

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Once again we have a new statement by Ike that he sent General Walter Bedell Smith to Malta to intercept Roosevelt on his way to the Crimean conference. Smith pressed upon the President an admonition from Ike that, "at Yalta, the Soviet zone be restricted and that Soviet promises should not be fully trusted."

At Yalta, Roosevelt was in no mood to harbor suspicions of Soviet policy. He had decided ardently to court the friendship of Stalin, and—as he confided to William C. Bullitt—he hoped that by showering concessions upon the Russian dictator he would build a bridge of understanding between Russia and the United States. Stalin accepted every concession and gave nothing in return.

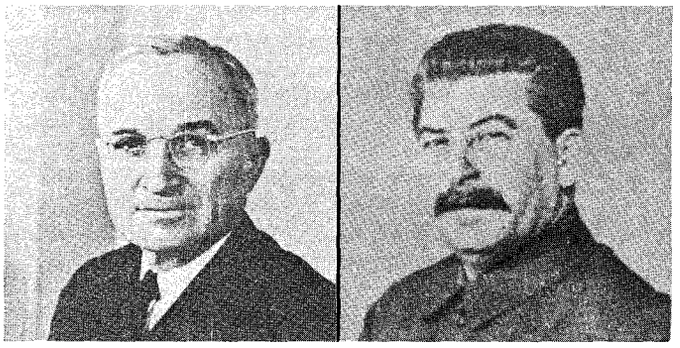
But, upon the strong insistence of Churchill, Stalin finally consented that France should have a zone of occupation in Germany. Needless to say, the zone was to be carved out of the American and British zones.

When Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945, the grave responsibilities of the Presidential office fell upon the uneasy shoulders of Harry Truman, who knew little about the problems of foreign policy. The deterioration of America's relations with Russia led the new President to send Harry Hopkins to Moscow where he had some candid conversations with Stalin.

On June 1, Hopkins had a long after-dinner talk with the Marshal and confided to him his misgivings about the situation and remarked that he "was bewildered with some of the things that were going on." He said he was particularly disturbed about conditions in Poland. Stalin quickly blamed Churchill for what had happened in that country and assured Hopkins that he had every intention of carrying out all his commitments made at Yalta.

President Truman also sent Joseph E. Davies on a mission to see Churchill and get the real picture of what had taken place at Yalta. The Prime Minister immediately launched into a verbal offensive against Stalin that was so sustained and bitter that Davies was taken aback. After Churchill had completed his Phillipic against the Marshal, he stopped for breath and asked Davies if he would care to make any comments. Davies replied that he had "been shocked beyond words to find so violent and bitter an attitude towards Russia." Then he tartly asked the Prime Minister if he was now willing to declare "to the world that he and Britain had made a mistake in not supporting Hitler?" Churchill did not bother to answer this barbed question, and Davies made a final statement that in his opinion "we could rely upon the good faith of the Soviet leaders."

TRUMAN WAS CONFUSED by this strange mixture of advice concerning Russia, but he received no clear picture from his Cabinet. Stimson was wrong as usual and deserved his old title "Wrong horse Harry." He advised the President to "make as few demands as possible" upon Russia. He was not disturbed about the treacherous Soviet policy in the Balkans. Secretary Forrestal, on the other hand, favored a "harder policy towards Russia." Morgenthau, whose agents in Berlin were growing more suspect each day, expressed a strong desire to go to Berlin where he could do a maximum of mischief. Truman told Morgenthau that the Secretary of the Treasury was needed in Washington. When Morgenthau demurred at this decision, Truman promptly accepted his resignation and thus got rid of a marplot who had frequently misled Roosevelt.



TRUMAN *STALIN*

But Truman had been inadequately briefed about Germany and he carried to Potsdam Roosevelt's outline of a plan to dismember that conquered country. At Potsdam he quickly discovered that neither Churchill nor Stalin favored such a project.

The Potsdam Conference lasted from July 17 to August 2, 1945. During its sessions the British elections were held and Churchill was defeated. His loss at the conference was a gain for Stalin. Truman endeavored to get the conference off to a good start and obligingly played to a receptive audience the "Missouri Waltz." Perhaps this sweet music might soothe the quick Russian tempers.

But he soon discovered that these tempers were always ready to discharge their venom. When talk arose about the possibility of internationalizing the Black Sea Straits, Molotov inquired of Eden why the Suez Canal should not be placed under international control. Eden blandly replied that "the question has not been raised." Molotov snapped back: "I am ready to raise it." When Churchill remarked that the British were satisfied with the existing arrangements which had worked without complaint for 70 years, Molotov acidly remarked: "You should ask Egypt."

Stalin was just as adept as Molotov in the gentle art of making enemies. When Churchill brought up the advisibility of granting religious rights in Russia in order to conciliate the Roman Catholic Church, Stalin repeated the famous question of Napoleon on a previous occasion: "How many divisions has the Pope?"

Other questions arose as to the quartering of the 25,000 American troops that had entered Berlin. It was soon discovered that the plans the Russians had made in this regard were far from adequate. The terms which covered the rights of the troops of the Western allies to use the roads and railways into Berlin were never drawn up into written agreements. The reason why General Lucius D. Clay had not taken this precaution was a simple one. The Russian zone was merely a temporary affair.

When the Germans gave evidence of being able to administer the zone in an effective manner the Russians were supposed to evacuate it. The Americans, the British and the French followed this procedure. The Russians, with their acquisitive ways, had no in-

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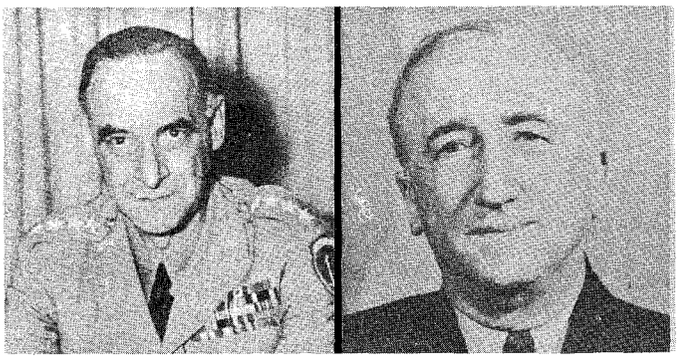

CLAY *BYRNES*

tention of moving out of the East zone, but this was not known in 1945, so there was no reason why access rights to Berlin should be carefully safeguarded. Berlin would merely be a German city in an integrated Germany and Americans would always be welcomed into the city.

THE FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE in Berlin during the early days of the military rule quieted any apprehensions Americans might have felt. The relations between the American and Russian Commanders-in-Chief were outstandingly cordial. Eisenhower pinned an American decoration upon the broad chest of Marshal Zhukov who, in return, gave Ike a star made up of 90 diamonds surrounded by a group of rubies. In the face of such cordiality it seemed most ungenerous to question the stay of the Russians in the East zone.

The zones themselves were carefully depicted on maps which were published on July 5 at Potsdam. It is certain that the President never assumed that the Russian zone had a permanent status. With reference to his viewpoint of the future of Germany, he summed the matter up in a pithy sentence: "My aim was a unified Germany with a centralized government in Berlin." There was no question in his mind about the Russian return of the East zone to the Germans with the Germans having their capital city, as usual, in Berlin.

When the American troops entered Berlin on July 1, 1945, they encountered difficulties in arranging their own billets and supplies, and there was a delay in crossing the Elbe River where the advance party of American troops had been held up by the Russians for more than a week. Troops upon entering the Berlin area had been confined to the use of one road and the number of planes that could land at Templehof field was limited. The Russians had taken everything of value from the quarters assigned to the American troops, leaving merely the bare and dirty floors.

American troops had to bring in their own food and General Eisenhower found it necessary to distribute 200,000 tons of food to save hungry Berliners from starvation. The Russians lived on the town and brought no food into the devastated city, but they assumed complete control over the administration of it as a whole which was run along approved Communist lines.

But these lines were no tougher than those applied by the Americans in the American zone. The general idea was that the Germans had caused the war and should suffer as a consequence. In *Stars and Stripes,* cartoonist Bill Mauldin had a picture of a GI handing a hungry little German girl some food. The caption over the cartoon read: "Careful, Pete, Congress may hear about this." An American intelligence report remarked that it was difficult to attempt to inculcate democracy in Germany when at times litres of "left-over cocoa" were poured into the gutters rather than in the empty receptacles of half-starving Germans.

But these cases of callous indifference soon passed away in the face of Soviet failure to co-operate with allied officials in the administration of conquered Germany. After the Potsdam Conference the European Advisory Commission held no more meetings and was supplanted by the Conferences of Foreign Secretaries. There was plenty of friction during these meetings.

On December 30, 1945, Secretary of State James Byrnes reported that it had been agreed upon that a peace conference was to be "called not later than May 1, 1946," and he tried to lay down certain rules of procedure. But at the second meeting of the Conference of Foreign Secretaries, June 15 to July 12, 1946, it was soon discovered that Soviet demands for reparations were so unreasonable that no progress could be made. This rapacious attitude made Secretary Byrnes finally remark:

> "I do not believe that the Soviets realize the doubts and suspicions which they have raised in the minds of those in other countries who want to be their friends by the coolness, aloofness and hostility with which they have received America's offer to guarantee jointly the continued disarmament of Germany."

In his report of October 18, 1946, Secretary Byrnes gets progressively discouraged by the attitude of the Soviet government:

> "From the Potsdam Conference . . . President Truman and I have worked and we shall continue to work to bring about an understanding with the Soviet government. Two states can quickly reach an understanding if one is willing to yield to all demands. The United States is unwilling to do that."

But the Soviet government continued to make her demands for reparations so outrageous that no progress could be made toward a friendly understanding concerning the administration of Germany. In his report of April 28, 1947, General George C. Marshall, who had now become Secretary of State, voiced fresh complaints against Soviet Russia. He said there was a constant "unwillingness of the Soviet authorities in establishing a balanced economy for Germany as agreed upon at Potsdam."

In his final remarks about what to do about Germany, Marshall expressed the hope that the Soviets would show a "greater spirit of co-operation in future conferences. But we cannot ignore the factor of time involved here. New issues arise daily. Whatever action is possible to meet these pressing problems must be taken without delay."

BUT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT was never ready to co-operate, so Secretary Marshall on December 19, 1947, gave his usual discouraging report: On the question of appointing commissions to make a study of the task of drawing new frontier lines, the Soviets frankly refused to co-operate. The situation finally boiled down to the basic question always kept to the front by Molotov—reparations.

Molotov continued to insist upon reparations out of current German production, and Secretary Marshall kept indicating to him that such reparations could come

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only out of America's pocket—"the United States would have to foot the bill." Marshall added that when it became clear "that we could make no progress at this time, I suggested that we adjourn."

Thus the fifth Conference of Foreign Ministers ended on a note of dismal failure owing to the impossible demands of Molotov.

It should have been obvious to President Truman that the Soviets did not wish to make any peace in Europe except along lines they could direct, and at this moment they were ready to launch a big offensive they were certain would bring greatly desired results. In December, 1947, under Communist pressure, the King of Roumania abdicated, and in February, 1948, there was a Communist *coup d'etat* in Prague, while in the same month the establishment of a People's Republic was announced in North Korea.

Of immediate interest to the Americans in Berlin, on March 20, 1948, was a meeting of the Allied Control Council where Marshal Sokolovsky rapidly read an announcement that the four-power government in Berlin had come to an end because of allied breaches of the rules and regulations. He then belligerently asked the question: "What are your legal claims to be in the heart of the Russian zone?" The three allied commanders answered that they were in Berlin by right of conquest and they stated firmly that they had no intention of leaving.

But it was apparent to them that their condition was critical. There were only 6,500 troops in Berlin under the command of the Western powers, of whom some 3,000 were Americans with their wives and children. In West Berlin some 2 million Germans depended upon the outside world for food. What was the real answer to this Soviet challenge?

A great deal depended upon the Military Governor, General Lucius D. Clay, who had heretofore followed a cautious line of action. But he was growing impatient of the way the Soviets had acted and he had been angered by the continuous smear attack the Soviet-controlled papers had launched against President Truman. By October, 1947, he had been ready to say *in public* that the American government was opposed to communism in every form and that American policy wished to give the Germans a free choice between the East and the West.

The Soviet storm broke on March 31, 1948, when an order was issued forbidding the entrance of military trains into Berlin unless baggage and personnel were first checked by Soviet officials. On the following day it was announced that no freight could leave Berlin without Russian approval. This was followed by the stopping of all barge traffic into Berlin. Marshal Sokolovsky informed General Clay that Russian planes were planning a series of maneuvers in the air corridors approaching Berlin and, therefore, it would be dangerous for any American planes to use these corridors.

It was evident that a serious crisis was at hand. In the United States, the Army Chief of Staff, General Omar Bradley, admitted there was a possibility of war, and Central Intelligence suddenly became more Delphic in its prophecies.

ALL EYES became riveted on President Truman and watched how he would handle this ticklish situation. But Harry, despite his reputation for courage, was ready to sit this one out.

On June 11, he amazed everyone by declaring to the press that he "liked old Joe. He's a decent fellow." But these sweet words did not appease the Kremlin which kept acting tough. What would Harry do now? In August, 1945, when the Japanese were begging for peace he had answered with atomic bombs that had killed more than 200,000 men, women and children at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Would he give the Russians a dose of this same medicine and change the delaying tactics they had been following for months? America had a monopoly of atomic power and a salutary lesson to the Soviets would show to the whole world that America could make its rights respected.

America had been right not only about Berlin but also about the East zone. Why had not the Russians evacuated it like the British, French and Americans had, thus carrying out the understanding that had been implicit in the matter of the zones when they had been created? If the Russians had evacuated the East zone there would have been no longer any question about access to Berlin which would have been completely in German territory with no questions of access raised.

But President Truman was afraid to grasp the bow of circumstance and feather an arrow that would go right to the heart of the situation. Instead he chose a weak and dangerous alternative—the airlift.

General Clay had favored sending an American armored train right through the Soviet barriers, but Harry feared such a bold action. The airlift would not precipitate war and was a safe procedure. He was not concerned about American prestige in world politics and he apparently did not worry about the problems with Russia that he would leave to succeeding Presidents.

General Clay had estimated that a minimum economy could be maintained in Berlin with a daily airlift that averaged 4,500 tons for the Germans and 500 tons of food for the Americans. On July 5, the combined American and British planes brought into Berlin 3,000 tons of food in 22 hours. After that date the daily amount of the airlift increased in tonnage despite Russian harassment. During the long winter, months of fog and bad weather made the airlift a dangerous procedure and cost the lives of 45 American and British airmen. But it was a brave experiment and was a wonderful expression of Anglo-American courage and ingenuity. It was estimated that the value of the food brought into Berlin by the airlift reached $350 million.

But the airlift of 315 days had been a useless sacrifice and Truman's lack of courage to meet the Soviet challenge squarely merely postponed the evil day when a reckoning with Russia will have to be faced. In the game of diplomacy some chickens come home to roost. They are now in West Berlin and it will take the atomic power of something stronger than Hiroshima to send them flying the long road to Moscow.

May God give President Kennedy the courage to begin the short count-down and may he turn deaf ears to the craven accents of Senator Fulbright and Ambassador Stevenson.

Dr. Tansill is professor emeritus of diplomatic history at Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. His last article in HUMAN EVENTS was "Do Mutual Security Agreements, Foreign Aid Help US Defenses?" (September 1, 1961).

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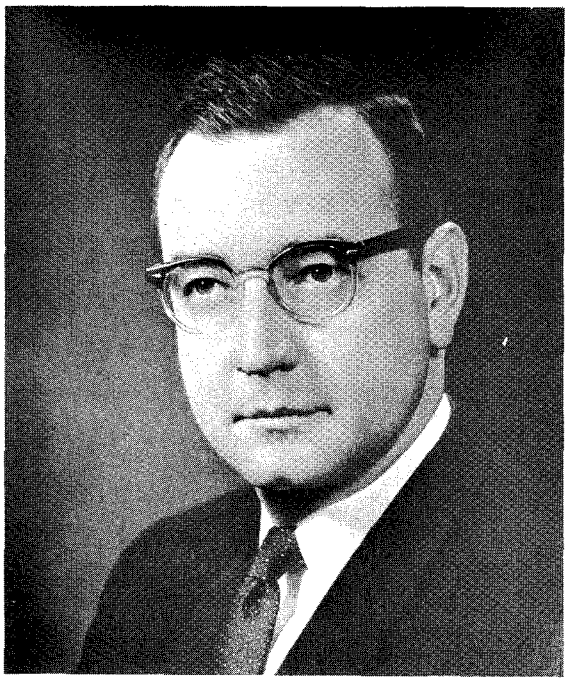

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Vol. XVIII, No. 45—Section IV HUMAN EVENTS November 10, 1961

A Republican Senator from South Carolina?

W. D. Workman May Be the Man

By ANTHONY HARRIGAN

METHODIST, TEETOTALER, ex-Army man (colonel in the reserves who served in North Africa), journalist with hundreds of "first-name" contacts from the Piedmont to the Low Country, strict states' righter and foe of Big Government, 47-year-old W. D. Workman is the best bet to win the GOP Senatorial nomination and become the first Republican to be elected to the US Senate from South Carolina in modern times.

WORKMAN

If he can achieve this breakthrough, defeating old-line Dealer Democratic Senator Olin D. Johnston in the 1962 general election, "Bill" Workman will make political history. A Workman victory would be more significant than the unprecedented successful write-in Senatorial campaign of Strom Thurmond in 1954.

Election under the Republican standard would set off a political chain-reaction in the Southern states. It could decisively affect the outcome of the next Presidential election by turning the South into Goldwater Republican territory.

When an influential group of South Carolina Republicans publicly urged Workman's nomination for the Senate, people and politicians were taken by surprise. "Bill" Workman has never run for public office. But Workman is no stranger to politics; for more than 20 years he has covered state and regional political news.

He is regarded as a leading journalistic authority on state government in the United States. More important, Workman speaks for the South. His book, *The Case for the South* (Devin-Adair, 1960), is an authentic presentation of the conservative credo.

No narrow regional spokesman, Workman, whose articles are syndicated to 43 newspapers, offers a message of broad-gauge conservatism that would please right-of-center citizens from Vermont to Oregon. Keenly aware of the need for the big picture in national and international affairs, Workman toured France and Germany in early October.

If he wins the GOP nomination, Workman unquestionably will give Senator Johnston the fight of his career. Responding to a call for his services, Workman pledged an all-out campaign if he is nominated. "I believe the time has come," he declared, "for South Carolinians to stand up and be counted on the basis of their political convictions."

In tackling Senator Johnston, "Bill" Workman will take on a formidable politician and an equally formidable myth. "Olin the Solon," as his non-admirers satirically refer to him, was first elected to a state office in 1927. As Governor and US Senator, Olin Johnston has commanded an almost fanatical loyalty from his followers. The national Democratic party, whose loyal servant he has been all so clearly, intends to give him maximum support in 1962.

Governor Ernest F. Hollings, a younger and more personable Democrat who also worked hard to elect John F. Kennedy, apparently has received word from the Kennedys that he is not their boy this time around. Political observers expect Johnston to defeat Hollings in a primary race. Thus, the real contest in 1962 will be the general election, with Johnston and the GOP candidate battling it out.

Addressing electric co-operative members in September, Senator Johnston offered ritualistic devotion to the myth that has helped him stay in office. He spoke of the party of "Bobby" Kennedy as though it were sweet as Sumter Swamp honey. The Senator didn't don farmer's overalls for a campaign photograph at this meeting—as he has done in years past. But his theme —and its essential mythology—was the same in September, 1961, as it was when Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1938 came to breakfast at the Governor's Mansion in Columbia. Senator Johnston declared that the "best interest of South Carolinians lies within the Democratic party."

THIS MYTH has performed yeoman service for Olin Johnston. Unquestionably, he believes that it will serve him again in his effort to be re-elected over militant conservative opposition in 1962. The Senator would seem to believe that South Carolinians haven't changed much in 30 years—or 60-odd years for that matter.

Olin DeWitt Johnston was born in 1896 on a small farm near Honea Path, South Carolina. That was the age of populist demagogues, and the age was slow to die in South Carolina. The

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worst of them was Cole Blease, who embarrassed an entire generation of respectable South Carolinians. But young Olin thought Blease was "the greatest man in the world."

Johnston belongs in direct line of political descent from Blease and other rural radicals of a vanished age. He was the self-proclaimed "cotton mill boy" candidate in the 1930's. Long before Henry Wallace used the "common man" slogan, Olin Johnston presented himself as the candidate of the common man. This was a winning strategy in South Carolina a generation ago. Textile operatives considered him their hero. Many of the older folk so regard him to this day.

Said Olin D. Johnston when he was speaking for the renomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt at the 1936 Democratic National Convention:

"... there are some grown children down in my state who have never seen a Republican in their lives, and would perhaps run from one if such a strange being wandered too close to their homes."

In 1935, Governor Johnston asserted that his office was vested with "almost dictatorial powers." A few weeks later, he mobilized National Guardsmen, armed with machine guns, and ordered them to surround the offices of the State Highway Commission. Declaring that an insurrection was in progress, Johnston suspended the right of *habeas corpus*. This was the second time that troops were used to restrain civil government in South Carolina—the first time being in the carpetbagger era. But Johnston didn't have it in him to be another Huey Long, and the Palmetto State was too independent to tolerate a dictator. The Governor backed down.

South Carolina had some rough years under Johnston. The state's most widely respected editor charged that the Governor "turned out convicts from the penitentiary by the score as his (first) term drew to a close." The Governor's political efforts paid off in votes. He was elected to the US Senate, defeating Senator Ellison D. ("Cotton Ed") Smith. He took the oath of office at the same time as Senator J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, another loyal New Frontier supporter.

In the Senate, Johnston fought the Taft-Hartley Act—says his campaign biographer, "with all his strength and ability." While South Carolina voted against Harry Truman in 1948, Senator Johnston declared his support for Truman—though only on election night and at about 11 p.m. In 1952, Senator Johnston pledged that he would support Adlai Stevenson "with all the power that God gave me."

THE CONSERVATIVE CASE against Olin Johnston has been building year after year. At long last, the Senator faces real political danger—and from a Republican.

The reason is that South Carolina is a vastly changed state. No longer is it a state of small hamlets and rural communities, as it was when Johnston built up his following. Johnston is an older man representing an older time. Today's textile mills are ultra-modern, air-conditioned structures. New political sophistication is to be found in the textile areas of the Piedmont. Old myths of Democratic perfection sound hollow to a public that knows about New Frontier blundering and appeasement in Cuba and Laos.

Furthermore, the Senator's political style, like a big plate of hogshead cheese and dishes of clabber, is designed for a less-informed citizenry. It is more than faintly amusing to the new suburban middle class of South Carolina.

Precisely how much South Carolina has changed won't be known until the votes are counted in the Senatorial race next year. But it is obvious that enormous changes are in process.

South Carolina is in the midst of a right-wing revival. Community "alert" groups are cropping up around the state. For the first time, many Palmetto State citizens realize they have only a limited time in which to effect political changes that can save the country from destruction. Militant patriotism, expressed in deep and passionate concern for the fate of the country at the hands of the anti-anti-Communists of the New Frontier, is seeking political outlets. Disgusted states rights' Democrats, furious at what's happening in Washington, are making the big switch to the Republican party. They see in the Palmetto brand of Goldwater Republicanism the best and only hope of saving state and nation.

What these South Carolina conservatives need now is a leader who can win big in the upcoming Senatorial race.

"Bill" Workman seems to be just what the doctor ordered.

The author of this article, Anthony Harrigan, is associate editor of The News and Courier *of Charleston, South Carolina.*

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HUMAN EVENTS
--- COMMENTARY ---

Progressive education, according to Milton Kamin, is "a system under which a child is made to do what he wants to do."

Vol. XVIII, No. 45 — Section V November 10, 1961

The Cold War Unnerves Americans

By Paul Harvey

IF THIS BECOMES nagging, you'll stop reading. Yet every time I plan to shush-up on the subject, my travels bring me in contact with whole towns—full of terrified, half-petrified Americans—and I am compelled to throw another bucket of cold water on this brush-fire fear.

Former President Eisenhower said the other day, "I deplore the amount of uneasiness and fear I hear Americans express. We are a vibrant and courageous people, but we sure aren't acting like it."

A Chicago physician, Dr. Milton Dushkin, has coined a new word for our new phobia: "Nucleo-mitophobia—fear of the atom."

He reports a rash of calls from persons who believe they are "radioactive," others see "imaginary Soviet submarines in Lake Michigan."

We're beginning to hear the symptoms of fear in previously responsible commentators. They are "considering the advisability" of withdrawal from Berlin. They are echoing the Bertrand Russell thesis, "Better Red than dead."

They assume that either we must appease the Communists, or there will be nuclear war. This is a false assumption; one the Russians want us to believe—but false.

There is overwhelming evidence that we have but to remain strong and firm in our dealings with the Russians to avoid war.

And we will not be firm and we cannot be strong if we are scared out of our wits!

I fully share the anxiety recently expressed by Maine's Senator Margaret Chase Smith.

She believes President Kennedy is, himself, so intimidated by the threat of nuclear war that he is preparing to fight the Russians with bayonets.

She believes we are, from sheer fear, being suckered into fighting the Reds with their own choice of weapons—men. Russia controls more of those than we do. If the next war is to be fought with the weapons of Korea, we can't win.

This Senator Smith calls "the stupidity of limited deterrence." Our only advantage is our nuclear arsenal. That kind of war Khrushchev can't win. Any other kind, we can't win.

She says our President's "brave words on Cuba and Laos were not followed by brave action." This must not happen in Berlin.

All right, Paul Harvey, what do we do? We are threatened by nuclear war and presently menaced by the slow war of radioactive contamination which could, eventually, leave us gasping for breath. Yet you say we should not tremble and crawl into holes. What should we do?

There is nothing new in my recommendation. I wrote it in a book which was published in 1950. Our President should serve notice on the Kremlin that contamination must cease within 24 hours, or we will unleash our worst on Minsk and Pinsk and Murmansk and Moscow.

Mr. Harvey, you would thus burn women and children?

Only if it is plainly a choice of either theirs or ours, and that, under the circumstances, would be the choice.

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The U. S. Crackdown on Katanga

By Allan Ryskind

THE UNITED NATIONS, right or wrong, is the prevailing wind in Washington, as was forcefully signaled by the President's speech before that world organization. Nowhere is this more apparent than in US actions toward the Congo where we are putting our full weight behind the UN-backed Central Government's intention to crush the pro-Western forces in breakaway Katanga Province.

To back the Central Government is clearly against US interests; to consider it as anything but Communist dominated is to commit violence against reason.

The following facts should put aside any lingering doubts on Red infiltration: (a) Soviet-backed Antoine Gizenga, who is now Vice Premier of the Congo after having come to terms with Premier Adoula in August, is a Prague-trained Communist; (b) the Minister of Interior with full police powers is Prague-trained Red Christophe Gbenye; and (c) Remy Mwamba, Minister of Justice, is an ardent supporter of Gizenga.

Others who have been named as pro-Communist by reporters covering the Congo include: Marel Bisukiro, Foreign Commerce Minister; Joseph Lutula, Minister of the Middle Classes; and Egide Bochely-Davidson, who was assigned to take over Katanga Province by the Central Government the day the United Nations invaded Tshombe's peaceful, prosperous regime.

Finally, 23 seats out of a possible 44 were won by Lumumbists in the Congo's recent parliamentary election.

Yet Washington blithely ignores the cumulative evidence of communism, blindly adhering to the UN's decision to support the Central Government. In setting this as its course of action, the Administration has formulated a policy which involves (1) selling the American people the idea that the Central Government is neutral, and even anti-Communist, so that (2) the New Frontier can proceed without opposition against Katanga, the bone in the Central Government's throat.

The Administration through its wind-machines—such as Senator Hubert Humphrey (D.-Minn.)—has already begun to polish the neutral image of the Adoula regime. The State Department insists to inquiring reporters that "only one-third," rather than a majority, of the Congolese parliament is Communist-controlled, somehow expecting those inquiring to heave a blessed sigh of relief.

A recent whitewash of the Congo's new Premier, Cyrille Adoula, was undertaken by junketeering Democratic Senators Maurine Neuberger (Ore.), Philip Hart (Mich.) and Albert Gore (Tenn.). After meeting Adoula, they said they considered him a genuine neutralist. Yet, even if he is more neutral than others, Adoula can hardly be expected to cope with the formidable Communists in his midst, or with Gizenga's personal army in Oriental Province, not yet under the control of Adoula.

The Administration, however, is not content with picturing Adoula's government as neutral; it has proceeded actively to beef up the UN forces which failed to conquer Katanga on September 13. Despite a cease-fire agreement, a swarm of arms and ammunition has been streaming into the Congo to supply UN forces. Indeed, fear rises that the UN may be preparing another strike against Tshombe's army, the recent truce notwithstanding. The tense situation in the UN's refugee camp in the Katanga capital of Elisabethville, where some 20,000 underfed, anti-Tshombe Baluba tribesmen are now living, could easily explode, giving the UN an excuse to initiate a new drive against Katanga in the name of securing "peace."

Sir Roy Welensky, Rhodesian Federation Prime Minister, has charged that "ammunition in significant quantities has been flown into Elisabethville and there distributed to UN units," in violation of the cease-fire agreement that neither side in Katanga would receive further supplies. Four Ethiopian sabre jet fighter planes are now based in the Congo's capital, and five Swedish fighters were recently transferred from Leopoldville to Luluabourg, which puts them within easy striking distance of Katanga. The UN's preoccupation with jets assumes more than passing interest when it is recalled that it was the action of two French Fouga jets of the Katanga air force which saved Tshombe's province from conquest by the UN. The US Air Force—after the September 20 cease-fire—put three C-130's and one C-124 at the disposal of the UN for transporting troops to Katanga.

Although the cease-fire has now been officially ratified, the result of strengthening the UN forces is clear: the Central Government, in flagrant violation of the truce, has used the protective cover of the United Nations to initiate new sallies against Katanga.

NOR IS THIS ALL. To clamp down on Katanga, the Administration has revoked the visa of Michel Struelens, head of the Katanga Information Service in New York. The State Department at first informed reporters on October 4 that Struelens had exceeded the prerogatives of his visa by acting as an "information officer" instead of as a "newsman." The words "information officer," however, were actually handwritten on his visa by a member of the US Consulate in Belgium. The State Department's second line of defense for revoking the visa is that the US doesn't recognize Katanga, but that hasn't prevented State from granting a visa to Abdelkader Chanderli, information officer for the Communist-oriented Algerian rebels. (Or are we planning to recognize the rebels?) The real trouble with Struelens, of course, is that he has been an excruciating thorn in the side of an Administration trying to force Katanga to knuckle under.

Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) plans an investigation of the Struelens case by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. It promises to be explosive.

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50 Federal Satellites

By Congressman William E. Minshall, Jr. (R.-Ohio)

This year, while international headlines have been distracting attention, individual states were being drawn into the orbit of centralized Federal control. By executive decree and legislative take-over, state, local and individual authority was stealthily transferred to Washington.

Legislation . . . signed into law . . . would enable the Federal government to exercise *control over factory locations, wages in local enterprise, production and distribution of electrical power, urban development, hospitals, farmers, markets and capital accumulation.* More and more states are discovering they cannot escape Uncle Sam's iron-fisted "helping hand." Bills are pending to give cabinet-level status to Departments of Rural and Suburban Government; Transportation and Communications; Urban Affairs and Housing; Consumers Counsel.

At a time when the Federal government should be concentrating its energies on the grave national and international situations, it is stepping into domains long reserved to the states—and citizens are watching more and more of their liberties take wing for Washington.

Former President Eisenhower recently told the World Council of Local Governments that "excessive centralization is a never-ceasing threat to our democratic future. The mania that some over-zealous central agencies seem to have developed for wanting to dominate rather than serve local governments threatens to sap the vitality and creative initiative of community enterprises."

I see that President Kennedy wishes to inaugurate a massive program to cure mentally retarded people. If such a program succeeded there wouldn't be enough Democrats left in the United States to re-elect Mr. Kennedy in 1964.

— Letter from Frank E. Ross to Chicago Tribune

Political Action Conference

HUMAN EVENTS will hold its third Political Action Conference on Friday and Saturday, January 5 and 6, 1962, at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington, D. C. "What You Can Do to Help Conservatives Win in 1962" will be the theme of the Conference.

Senators and Representatives and other political authorities will speak and answer your questions. Many persons who attended the two previous Conferences have already registered. Conference fees for all sessions, including breakfast, lunch and dinner on both days, are $75 each; $45 for additional members of the same immediate family (wives, sons, daughters), and for students, teachers and clergymen. Special rates—$10 for singles, $15 for doubles—have been arranged at the Sheraton Park Hotel.

All fees will be returned in full if for any reason whatsoever you cannot attend the Conference.

For information and reservations, write now to HUMAN EVENTS, 410 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C.

An Unprincipled Loan

By Congressman H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa)

Secretary of the Treasury Dillon has announced a new "loan" program for foreign countries and it is a dilly.

How would you like to go to your local bank and be able to borrow money on these terms: no payment whatever on the principal of the loan for the first 10 years; a 1% payment on the principal during the second 10 years, and a 3% payment on the principal during the next 30 years.

Believe it or not, New Frontiersman Dillon, using your money and mine to make these 50-year "loans," is not going to charge foreigners one stinking dime of interest for the entire 50 years!

How do you like it? I don't, and I voted against the bill.

How to be a Parent

From the Washington Daily News

So you're a parent. And you've just been jolted by those first fall bills for your youngster in college. And you're appalled at how much four years of it are going to cost.

Well, before you do something desperate—such as hollering for the Government to take this burden off your neck—step for a moment into the shoes of Henry Blake of New Rochelle, N. Y.

Mr. Blake shovels coal for a living at Ft. Slocum Army base in New Rochelle. When he isn't shoveling it at Ft. Slocum, he shovels it into the private furnaces of nearby householders. In 14 years, Blake told the United Mine Workers Journal, he has shoveled more than 168,000 tons of coal.

With the money he thus earned, Blake has put three sons through college and another through nursing school. One now is an executive with the Chicago Housing Authority, another teaches at Rhode Island University, a third has a master's degree in sociology. Son Sidney, 21, has just become the first male Negro to graduate from the Westchester County School of Nursing.

Henry Blake's own schooling stopped at the seventh grade. He didn't think that should happen to his sons. But he didn't think, either, that it was up to anybody else to put them through college.

He thought it was up to a fellow named Henry Blake, who happened to be their father. So he spat on his hands, and picked up his shovel, and did something about it.

About Negotiating

If someone stole my television set, I am not going to negotiate with him about the family car because next he might want the refrigerator or my home.

—Comment of Robert B. Dresser of Providence, R. I., quoted by Congressman Richard L. Roudebush (R.-Ind.) in his newsletter.

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Doing it with Mirrors

From the Wall Street Journal of October 4

APPARENTLY some segments of America do not want to get moving again quite so fast as the Kennedy Administration's farm program planners would like. Our Mr. Western reported from Washington the other day that farm officials, nursing the lumps they received during the recent session of Congress, are abandoning hopes of achieving a revolution in Government management of farming virtually overnight. In lieu of revolution they are now counseling patience.

The reason is simple. The Administration's agricultural experts are rediscovering the great truth that it isn't easy to teach an old dog new tricks. The older farmers who wear overalls and who are not by any means wildly enthusiastic about current Government farm controls are even less ecstatic about the prospect of still tighter controls over production and marketing. The Administration seems willing to wait until time replaces the older farmers with younger ones—the ones who wear business suits, who are growing up under "quotas," incentive payments for not growing crops, and other devices created by bureaucratic minds.

This cautious retreat into what they call "re-education" of farm opinion—and especially of young farmers' opinions—is neither new nor original. It is only borrowing from what the writer of Proverbs said a long time ago: "Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it." One of the first moves of Socialist states requiring blind acceptance of their political, economic and social beliefs is the placing of young people in schools where they can be indoctrinated, away from the "reactionary" influence of their parents.

If the Government can just wait a little, the young farmers who know only the courses of bureaucracy will outnumber and out-vote the old fellows who are standing in the way of some of the Administration's fine schemes and who are trying to cling to at least a few shreds of individual dignity.

Farm officials are referring to the period of "re-education" as one in which they will, for political reasons, "fuzz things up." Under various names they hope to inch along an increasingly restrictive program of controls until the Administration's long-range farm management goals are reached. "Maybe," one of Agriculture Secretary Freeman's aides said the other day, "it will have to be done with mirrors."

The Government has proved conclusively that it cannot solve the problems of prices and production with the machinery it has used so far, and it won't consider a return to the free market. Maybe mirrors are about all it has left to try.

REPRINTS of this section available: single copy 20c; 10 for $1; 25 for $2; 100 for $5; 500 for $20; 1,000 for $30. Order by section number and date of issue.

TRIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS: 5 weeks $1. Yearly rate $12.50; 6 months $6.50. After you have read each section of HUMAN EVENTS, put it in an envelope and mail it to someone else who will value its contents. **Published weekly at 410 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C.**

A Cure for Liberals

From the (Raleigh, N. C.) State

When we were young radicals in the days when radicalism was less fashionable, there was a simple rule for finding fellow-revolutionaries in a strange town.

"Look for a cranky doctor," the wise old Wobblies said. "You'll always find some good left-wingers among the doctors."

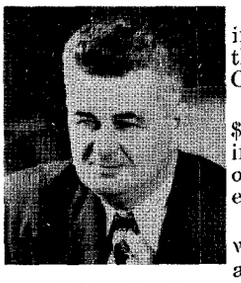
Well, you don't any more, and the reason is that programs aimed at socializing medicine have caused doctors to examine "lib'rul" philosophy more critically.

We would like some pinko to advocate government ownership and operation of newspapers, radio and TV stations. No enterprise is more essential than communications. If it is desirable for the "peeple" to own and operate transportation, housing, medicine, insurance, utilities and so on, why not start with the most vital field of all?

We don't think such a take-over would be desirable. But a serious proposal to do so might educate a lot of half-baked publishers who advocate government entry into *other* people's business.

Congressman Hoffman's Taped Interview—$7

Elmer J. Hoffman, second-term Congressman from Illinois' 14th District, is the guest on this week's Congressional Interview. Mr. Hoffman discusses national fiscal policy and posture, and details misuse of taxpayers' money in such Administration sponsored programs as Federal Aid to Education, the Farm Program, and the Peace Corps.



HOFFMAN

This 12½-minute tape-recorded interview is the thirty-fifth in the 1961 series of HUMAN EVENTS CONGRESSIONAL INTERVIEW.

The price for single interviews is $7. If you enter an order for one interview a month the price is $6, one a week $5; $1 is refunded for each tape returned.

Other interviews which you may wish to have are listed below. They are the first thirty-four weekly interviews in the 1961 series.

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2. John M. Ashbrook (R.-Ohio)
3. W. J. B. Dorn (D.-S.C.)
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5. Bruce Alger (R.-Texas)
6. Donald C. Bruce (R.-Ind.)
7. Harold R. Collier (R.-Ill.)
8. Richard H. Poff (R.-Va.)
9. Edward J. Derwinski (R.-Ill.)
10. H. C. Schadeberg (R.-Wisc.)
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15. James F. Battin (R.-Mont.)
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33. Robert C. Wilson (R.-Calif.)
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The 12½-minute length of these interviews makes them ideal for a 15-minute radio program. Many serve as the weekly highlight of organization meetings.

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Vol. XVIII, No. 45 — Section VI HUMAN EVENTS November 10, 1961

'No Co-existence on the Battlefield,' General Walker Says as He Resigns

Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Upon the invitation of the Chairman of the Special Preparedness Subcommittee, Senator John Stennis, I am happy to submit a statement to become part of the record of this committee.

By God's grace, by action of this Congress, and by appointment to the US Military Academy, by the late Senator Morris Sheppard, it has been my privilege to be a commissioned officer in the United States Army for the past 30 years. My life, my service, my dedication to my troops, their purpose, their hopes, are a matter of record. I hope that the origin and depth of my motivation and intent are discernible and clear.

I have been removed from command of the 24th Division.

My career has been destroyed in its usefulness to my country. I cannot accept retirement with its emoluments and benefits. To do so would be a compromise with my principle.

I take leave of military duty with a heavy heart. I must find other means of serving my country in the time of her great need, in order to pursue the dedication of a lifetime.

To do this, I must be free from the power of little men who, in the name of my country, punish loyal service to it. No man can judge this nation and its emergency with respect to my performance on the field of battle—past or future, my devotion to country, my obligation to this Congress or to the parents of a son.

Much Public Concern

Even before this subcommittee was directed to study censorship, there had been much public concern reflecting a long period of interest in the terms of censorship *vs.* the terms for survival. That public interest concerned itself with areas extending back through Generals Stilwell, Patton, Patch, MacArthur, General Walton Walker and General Van Fleet to the present date. These are all areas of public and national interest during my time of service, and are properly part of any investigation of censorship of officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers in the performance of their missions and duties in behalf of national security on present-day terms.

Censorship as it pertains to my recent command goes back to October, 1959, in finding within the division a complete lack of realization not only of the enemy's capacity, but of his terms for our existence on this earth. His continuous threats, challenges and tirades, including "Moscow Molly's" diatribes aimed at our troops on the radio every night, demand opposition. No member of this Congress who has visited the soldiers on the front line outposts, continuously manned night and day, year after year, failed to respect the realism and seriousness in the situation, and in the soldier's daily life. This we have lived with every hour of the day, and every day of the year. As commanders, we, too, wonder about the enemy and each soldier's preparedness to recognize across miles and miles of barbed wire that enemy's potentiality and brutality.

Hope and Fear

My ultimate and daily task has been to achieve effective realism—efficiency in young men in the use of their weapons. They must learn to kill and destroy, to live and protect. Each man is a source of intelligence, morale and comfort. He must talk and he must not talk. He must be alert to see, and hear, to shoot and not to shoot. He must live in hope and fear with courage and conviction.

Even strong men can weaken in these terms for battle preparedness—making men of soldiers and soldiers of men. There are hopes and frustrations—happiness and sadness in the soldier-leader relationship, with every new man under the pressure of an inevitable day of reckoning which is never predictable. These are the burdens of tears and sweat with the thousands of young men from every walk of life, from scholar to delinquent, loyal to unloyal, responsible to irresponsible, appreciative to unappreciative; men from the greatest homes on earth who can be, and will be, the finest soldiers—second to none on earth.

These are the men I lived with, and for, without time to rectify what they or their parents may have failed to do, but to make each a master of the art of warfare with the precision that time allowed and the experience that comes from knowledge of the enemy, and his use of warfare in four dimensions.

If I had failed in this task, I would be the first to know it, and you would be the first to condemn it.

We are at war. We are infiltrated. We are losing that war every day. Are our hands tied, yours and mine? We need a substitute for defeat. If it is not within the power of this Congress to provide it—then the people of these United States are not truly represented.

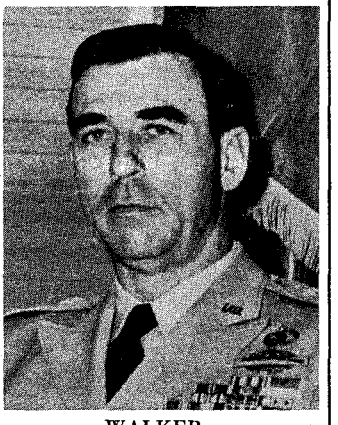
In his letter of resignation to the Department of the Army, Major General Edwin A. Walker said, in part:

"I tender my resignation because it is my choice and my desire."

"Connection or affiliation with the United States Army may continue the jeopardies to which I have recently been subjected.

"Cold war efforts, indoctrination and training have been unrealistically suppressed and censored, in spirit and in fact with and without intent, and are not in consonance with the existing state of war, infiltration and aggression, in providing the security and protection of the nation or the soldier from exposure to the enemy.

"The inevitable deficiencies in spirit or intent constitute an environment of jeopardies to cold war indoctrination and to precedents regarding official or semi-official relations with the military service."



WALKER

Let me quote to you first from the address of George Washington to the officers of the Army, March 15, 1783:

"*If men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter, which may involve the most serious and alarming consequences that can invite the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us; the freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led, like sheep to the slaughter.*"

Let me quote next from a soldier in Germany, a letter written January, 1961, to a member of this Senate:

"*For almost 18 years I have been proud to be what history has called me, a 'citizen soldier,' but now I can no longer be a citizen, I can only be a soldier. Are we career soldiers to be relegated to substrata citizenship once again? What a fantastic idea that is!*

"*Has the pyramid of government grown so high into the clouds that its foundations can no longer be seen from the starry eyes of our nation's leaders? If this is true, then our task is to divert their eyes earthward and away from the stars.*"

I agree with General Douglas MacArthur, quoted elsewhere in this document, that the application of the executive power has become so inordinate that members of the armed forces have been subjected to the most arbitrary and ruthless treatment for daring to speak the truth in accordance with conviction and conscience.

Legislative Role Shrinks

The encroachment upon the responsibility of the legislative branch to regulate the military conduct is the very encroachment now turned upon me.

In defeat, I am in good company.

Failure to know the enemy, failure to understand him on all his fronts, failure to prepare completely to battle him to the ultimate in the defense of the United States, only gives him aid and comfort described in our Constitution as treason.

There can be no co-existence on the battlefield.

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As I rejoin the nation's civilian population, I submit an array of opinion expressed by some of the most illustrious men ever to serve under the flag of the United States. Now that military men may no longer confide in the public, let them speak out of the past:

Admiral C. Turner Joy:

"Let no one think that in negotiating with the Communists we should reject the threat of force. On the contrary, it is only through the imminent threat of application of our military power that the Communists can be compelled to negotiate seriously for the alleviation of the basic issues between their world and ours. We must be prepared to accept the risk of war if we hope to avoid war." (1955)

General Mark Clark:

"Having seen the Red Army and Russian diplomacy in action, my own belief is that there is nothing the Soviets would not do to achieve world domination. But I am convinced also that they respect force; they respect nothing in the world except force.

"Whether it was the Soviet High Commissioner Konev in Vienna, Gusev in London at the Deputy Foreign Ministers' meeting, Vishinsky and Molotov at the 1947 Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow or Nam Il at Panmunjom, I found the Communists to be the same breed of bandits. They are ruthless in their exploitation of weakness; they stop, look and listen only when confronted with force . . .

"But peace will be granted us only if we are strong, if the Russians and their followers know we are strong and if they are convinced we have the determination and courage to use that strength to achieve a military victory the next time we are called to war against communism." (1954)

General Douglas MacArthur:

"There can be no compromise with atheistic communism—no halfway in the preservation of freedom and religion. It must be all or nothing.

"Without committing a single soldier to battle he has assumed direct or indirect control over a large part of the population of the world. His intrigue has found its success, not so much in his own military strength, nor, indeed, in any overt threat of intent to commit it to battle, but in the moral weakness of the free world." (1952)

General John R. Deane:

"Above all, we must abandon the hopes that go with the weakness of appeasement. We are dealing with people who respond only to strength.

"The chances of attaining our objective by peaceful means will be enhanced immeasurably if we are prepared to defend our position by force at any point where it is threatened. Nothing induces greater restraint on the part of Soviet leaders than a display of strength by their adversaries.

"In my opinion there can no longer be any doubt that Soviet leadership has always been motivated by the belief that communism and capitalism cannot co-exist. Nor is there any doubt in my mind that present-day Soviet leaders have determined upon a program pointed toward creating conditions favorable to a triumph of communism in the war against capitalism which they consider to be inevitable." (1946)

What of Patriotism?

It has fallen to a civilian, Dr. Max Rafferty, California school superintendent, to ask the home front what has happened to patriotism. I quote him as follows:

"We educators had better not be caught withholding from the nation's children the wonderful sharp-edged glittering sword of patriotism. In a word, this means indoctrination. An ugly word?

"I think not. But if it is ugly to teach children to revere the great Americans of the past, to cherish the traditions of our country, to hate communism and its creatures, then I say let's be ugly."

Let me present the view of Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon, former President of the United Nations General Assembly, as expressed in a speech in Williamsburg:

"Communism started from zero 43 years ago, and today it rigidly controls one-third of mankind and has penetrated and softened up in varying degrees the remaining two-thirds. Was this phenomenal development inevitable? . . . I warn you therefore against declining to assume full moral-historical responsibility for what happened during the last two decades; for, if you do so, you are already a Marxist, and Marxian communism will have already won in your soul.

"The only hope, therefore, is to believe, on a basis of truth and not of darkness or sentiment or dogmatism, that nothing of what transpired was inevitable, and that everything could have been prevented or reversed. Only on the basis of radical moral responsibility can you overcome the fatalism of the cosmologists and the determinism of the dialectical materialists.

"The future will never redeem the past, and we will only pass from one fiasco to another, from one pathetic drift to another, unless in contemplating the past we can put our finger with certainty on such an such an act, and such and such a decision, and such and such a person, and honestly say that this act, or decision, or person, could have been different and therewith the course of events would have taken a radically different turn."

- My own accusers are persons—not America.
- They separate me from the soldiers and soldiering I know.
- My oath is used for and against me.
- My case "rests" on the courage of patriots facing present terms for survival.

It might be useful to review what we seek.

Our objective is not peace, but freedom. If we are vigilant and strong and willing and worthy to defend our liberty, peace will be at home with us. If the Soviet leaders are made to understand that we will fight, there will be no need to fight.

The Communists are not fighters. They are not even accomplished intriguers. Much of their work is being done for them.

No people ever has voted in a free election to accept communism as a way of life. From the time Lenin's rabble swooped down upon the government of Kerenski, on November 7, 1917, destroying Russia's first republican form of government, to the present, the Communists have been destroyers of the right of the peoples to choose their own destiny.

The Kremlin Knows

We know what misguided powers collaborated to install communism as the overlord of so many people over the world. We know that communism wants the rest of them. The Kremlin knows that the smallest candle of freedom left flickering might ignite the rest of the world.

Talk about co-existence is a concession to the timid and the gullible.

To keep the other people quiet, the Kremlin resorts to other means.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover said this:

"It is appalling that some members of our society continue to deplore and criticize those who stress the Communist danger. What these misguided 'authorities' fail to realize is that the Communist Party, USA, is an integral part of the international communism. As the world-wide menace becomes more powerful, the various Communist parties assume a more dangerous and sinister role in the countries in which they are entrenched. Public indifference to this threat is tantamount to national suicide.

"Lethargy leads only to disaster. The Communists have a savage plan of liquidation for a vanquished America."

Has the counsel of this great American fallen on deaf ears? Worse still, is his voice like all others to be muted by political dilettantes with their fingers to their lips?

If so, we must be prepared to accept a prostitution of language and truth as we have known them since we became a free people. This would be a most devastating brainwash.

One of the great conflicts of history is that between man and the state. An example of how far we have submitted to this new orientation is that, only a short time ago, a liberal was one who believed in protecting individual liberties from usurpations by the state. Yet, all men must have a Higher Authority. I think we do not dare let these usurpers decide whether the Higher Authority is to be the President or the Palace Guard—God or the Kremlin.

Making Soldiers of Men

During World War II, I commanded one of the finest ski, mountain, amphibious, and air-borne trained commando units. It was half-American, half-Canadian. Training and combat made soldiers of men, and men of soldiers. Supremacy and victory on the battlefield evolved from the capacity of each individual as a dedicated fighting man, and a player on the team. Night after night, and days on end, leadership kept vigil to evaluate the situation in terms of dead, wounded, replacements, and from the reports of scouts and patrols, shifting supporting fire, seeking to recover lost and wounded.

We had studied our enemy; we knew his tactics and his strengths. Supremacy was the key to victory; not equality. In Helena, Montana, stands a memorial to the honored dead Canadian and American soldiers who comprised that First Special Service Force—volunteers for hazardous duty from two great countries. It is at the same time a monument to the necessity for engaging the enemy with purpose—the purpose of destroying the enemy.

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In Korea, commanding the Artillery at Heartbreak Hill, and the Infantry at Gibraltar, for twenty months, I saw stalemate become a substitute for victory. The monument there became the PW cages. Thirty-three thousand American dead, and more than 100,000 Koreans lost are the monument to the censorship of victory on the field of battle.

I worked long nights in a hut high in the mountains overlooking the beautiful Sea of Japan, helping my Korean friends to build an army in our image. The result has been an army in which soldiers at every echelon enjoy as satisfactory a relationship as I have known anywhere. That army is the product of the cooperation and coordination between a great anti-Communist patriot, President Rhee, and a great American General, James Van Fleet.

It had been my lot to be assigned to the Greek operations desk in the Pentagon during the war in Greece. Dismayed at harassment through censorship of execution, I was happy to arrange another assignment.

Over rice with Korean soldiers, I heard from an American major on my staff the disheartening detail of his experience while serving on the mainland as an advisor to the Nationalist Chinese Army—of shortages of ammunition, and of the sudden recall of all American advisors from China. The Nationalist forces had been in combat readiness, anxious to engage a Communist enemy weakened by long, over-extended supply routes. Here, censorship of action through the control of ammunition, and the recall of advisors upon whom there was great reliance, was effective.

The Korean War

In 1951, as a colonel, I explored the Pentagon for a week in preparation for assignment to Korea. I wanted to know particularly if reports in the press that the Korean war might end quickly had any substance. I had no interest in a duty assignment in Korea as part of an "occupation force." If the war was to continue, I wanted the combat assignment. I have to tell you that the general feeling in the Pentagon was that the war might end next week, or next month, which obviously would mean no victory. I watched the return of General Douglas MacArthur to Washington that week. And I watched the enemy increase the fury of his assaults. I decided to go to Korea, knowing that censorship of victory was the prevailing mood. There was a challenge. Possibly the war could be won within the limitations imposed upon the military. I was determined to help. I led my men and fought them to their greatest capacity. Out of their sight I wept over their predicament.

Did you ever hear of "bug-out"? I have. In Korea. It represented the complete disintegration of morale and confidence. It is the psychology of rout.

You heard it, at times, on every hand. He "bugged-out"; they "bugged-out"; it was a "bug-out." It was a shocking thing from a soldier.

With firm discipline and good leadership these boys snapped out of it. They became what Americans have always been, top-notch soldiers.

As Senior Advisor to the Chief of Staff of the Chinese Nationalist Army on Formosa in 1955, I felt the effects of uncertain policy.

There can be no co-existence on the battlefield.

It has been said, perhaps better than I say it now, that political warfare is a sustained effort to seize territory and establish dominion over peoples through acts which, while short of war, nevertheless employ the threat of war. But it is warfare, not a series of public relations campaigns.

Its primary purpose is to discredit its opponents and neutralize, if not displace them, with methods that abound predominately in deception. Its primary object, which wears the mask of co-existence and mutual understanding, is to utterly destroy competing political and economic concepts and reduce the peoples living under these concepts to vassalage, or complete impotence.

Foreign Aid

Foreign aid, cultural exchanges and technical assistance may be activities related to political warfare, but they do not, of themselves, depreciate the power of an ideological enemy.

We have yet to agree among ourselves, and with our allies, to reach a simple definition—communism is the enemy. We employ its agents in the teaching professions, allowing them to work on the fertile minds of youth seeking a champion to pit against a scapegoat. They infest our entertainment media. They long ago have infiltrated our government so that a scheme of subversion can be traced through three decades.

Even our free press is exploited by Communist propagandists. Communist collaborators find rabid and militant defense among certain groups of our citizens, some of whom are sincerely confused and misguided. Governments which oppose the leaders of these groups and their purposes often are branded reactionary. In other nations of our hemisphere, we have seen these groups seize absolute power. In Cuba, it was with our help.

Nations that have fundamentally anti-Communist governments too often feel our wrath, directed by those who somehow have managed to rise to such positions of power in our government as to be able to claim the right to speak for us. I say this with sorrow, but I say it with conviction.

Many Communist aggressions now passing into history as *fait accompli* could never have been perpetrated had we and our allies been alert and informed—and to be alert we would have had to be informed. To discourage those among us who would alert us by informing us, the enemy and those who do his bidding have gone to astounding lengths, but always at the risk of exposing themselves by going too far.

As a boy on a small Texas stock farm, it was my happy lot to behold daily the glory of God and the wonders of life made more bountiful by the sun and the rain, and sometimes made suddenly awesome by the unleashing of great devastation. In our daily chores and in our annual harvests, we worked amid blessings and challenges.

When Senator Sheppard appointed me to the US Military Academy, I hoped and prayed that I might serve with honor and efficiency; and, if necessary, with sacrifice.

The Cadet Prayer became my prayer:

"Make us choose the harder right instead of the easier wrong, and never to be content with a half truth when the whole can be won. Endow us with the courage that is born of loyalty to all that is noble and worthy, that scorns to compromise with vice and injustice and knows no fear when truth and right are in jeopardy . . ."

The Cadet Honor Code became my honor code.

"Lying, quibbling, evasive statements, or technicalities in order to shield guilt or defeat the spirit of justice will not be tolerated. The Code demands courageous and fearless honesty in setting forth the truth, regardless of consequences.

"A Cadet who violates the Code shall resign at once as there is no place in the Corps for anyone who cannot abide by its principles and offenders are never granted immunity. Anything to which a man signs his name means irrevocably what is said, both as to letter and spirit."

A Matter of Trust

An officer equipped with any less is less qualified, by just that much, to merit the trust which must be placed in him by the men in his command.

Men from civilian life bring spiritual qualities to the uniform from closer ties to home and community.

During the past several years, troop commanders have been working under severe handicaps The young men who came to us from America's schools and homes and churches were uninformed about their enemy. The training and preparation they should have been getting had been sadly neglected. We found it necessary to remedy this deficiency.

The mobilization of the 24th Infantry Division Cold War effort was superceded by authority from a 1958 directive of the National Security Council, the top advisory board to the President, which called for the mobilization of all arms of government—civilian, diplomatic, military—in the Cold War. My efforts became the rationale for my relief.

Fresh from school, or with school delayed, soldiers coming to my command had not had the opportunity to read *The Naked Communist* by Cleon Skousen; nor J. Edgar Hoover's *Masters of Deceit;* nor Edward Hunter's *Brainwashing: Pavlov to Powers;* nor Friedrich Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom;* Weaver's *The Mainspring of Human Progress;* nor the tremendously important studies which the committees of this Congress have made on the nature, the capabilities and designs of the Communist enemy. They literally didn't know why they were wearing the uniform of the United States. Their life, the life of the soldier next to them, your life—the life of this Capitol—depends upon their knowing.

Allegiance to the Constitution

The Constitution which you and I have taken an oath to uphold is our greatest bulwark in these days of distress. For it is a non-partisan document which protects each of us in our differences, yet binds us together in our mutual honor. Our two-party political system has not frozen our citizenry into two different molds. My task as a commander of troops has been to tell your sons this fact. Historically, our political differences always have evaporated at the water's

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edge when aggressors threatened. A soldier stands at the water's edge, wherever he may be stationed.

But that soldier needs badly to understand that fact before he comes to me in uniform. He needs to understand, as does every citizen, that we have long ago crossed the beaches and the water's edge and that we are in a death-struggle now, on the high seas, in the air, on the land, in outer space, and in every local community where the agents of those who hope to conquer the world seek to undermine us.

Be sure that no American is more non-partisan than the soldier facing the enemy in the struggle for survival. He does not ask his foxhole mate for his political party card. That his buddy is an American is sufficient. And it is in this very context that our greatest strength lies. Societies and nations which have been defended by mercenaries and professional armies have withered and died across the centuries; but a nation defended by its citizenry will find strength to fend off oppressors, if that citizenry is informed of its peril.

When the soldier understands his heritage and its jeopardy—that soldier sees the enemy and his designs; he then becomes an American. He shoulders his responsibility to himself, to his follow-soldiers, and to his nation.

If it is now to be the case that commanders are restricted, or constrained by censorship, to certain limited areas of communication in their indoctrination of their soldiers, then the deficiency in training will go unremedied.

Our defense is based on the concept of a civilian military establishment with regular army support. Our armed might is civilian; it is a son, a nephew, or a husband who answers the call to serve his country. It is a civilian businessman, teacher, mechanic, union member, farmer, who retains his status in a reserve force, trains and studies regularly so that he may effectively defend us if the need arises.

That is the United States Army. It is our civilian neighbors who rally, when an enemy threatens, to protect our heritage. To presume a military coup by such an army is patently preposterous.

One of the fundamentals for any military organization is security. Originally, with fixed battle lines and little reason to worry about treason, security was achieved by the posting of sentries and the operation of patrols.

Thousands of Pages

In the new four-dimensional warfare, the problem is entirely different, equally vital, and it concerns the civilian population. Congressional committees have devoted thousands of pages to sworn testimony on the failure of security within the civilian population such as Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments, in 30 parts, and the thousands of pages on the Institute of Pacific Relations, to name only two. Unfortunately, the full significance of these are not widely known to the people who, under our Constitution, are the "ultimate repository of all national power."

The civilian and military must complement each other in safeguarding power and security. From the vantage of the military, it often appears that some positions of authority are not adequately prepared to co-ordinate civilian and military security measures.

It has been suggested that discussion and consideration of domestic civilian matters are not within the province of the military. I disagree. Soldiers come to us from civilian life and sooner or later will return to civilian life. I submit, therefore, that they should be permitted to know, without interruption, what is going on at home, and abroad, for their interest and the interest of the home they protect.

In recent years, special interest groups have prevailed upon civilian leaders to employ our military forces on non-military adventures.

In 1957, I was detailed by higher authority to engage in such an operation. As Commander of the Arkansas Military District, I was ordered to receive and command Federal troops in what has come to be known as "Operation Little Rock." Federal troops were used, contrary to my personal wishes. I had hoped and prayed that the Army would not become involved in that non-military issue. It was my hope that Federal marshals would be used. Failing this, it was an expressed desire that Army participation, if ordered, be limited to the use of Military Police units.

Loyalty Never Questioned

Through appropriate military channels, I repeatedly urged that responsibility be restored to the state's National Guard, whose loyalty and dedication to obligations, however unpleasant, neither I, nor any other US Army officer, has ever had reason to question.

I submitted my resignation from the United States Army on August 4, 1959—Headquarters, Arkansas Military District. The letter said:

"1. *I am in receipt of assignment to the 7th Army Europe to command the 24th Infantry Division, which I have looked forward to for many years.*

"2. *It is fair to say that in my opinion the fifth column conspiracy and influence in the United States minimize or nullify the effectiveness of my ideals and principles, military mission and objectives, and the necessary American public spirit to support sons and soldiers. I have no further desire for military service at this time with this conspiracy and its influences on the home front.*

"3. *I respectfully request that this, my resignation from the United States Army, be accepted and become effective immediately.*"

My request was denied by order of the Secretary of the Army.

I quote to you the words of General MacArthur, referred to earlier:

"*While for the purpose of administration and command the armed forces are within the executive branch of the government, they are accountable as well to the Congress, charged with the policy making responsibility, and to the people, ultimate repository of all national power. Yet so inordinate has been the application of the executive power that members of the armed services have been subjected to the most arbitrary and ruthless treatment for daring to speak the truth in accordance with conviction and conscience.*"

These are the words that should ring through the land but do not —counsel that should have been heeded but was not.

To what voice, then, do we harken?

The people, the truly militant voice in a republic, can and will be heard. Once unleashed, I have faith that from their fury Constitutional power will prevail, rededicating this nation and its sons in uniform to the will and power of the people for freedom and justice under the sun.

I have now completed more than 30 years in service under your commission. I am proud of that service and the honors that I wear on behalf of the men I have served. No man of my humble beginnings could be less than proud, but still humble and deeply concerned for the survival of his country.

It is the expressed decision of higher echelons that I may not provide my fellow-soldiers with the degree of information that I consider imperative to their morale and their capacity to survive. In my position, I may not question the authority of that decision, but a lifetime of training directed toward defense and survival, cries out against the wisdom of it.

My decision continues to reflect the West Point Code: "to choose the harder right, instead of the easier wrong" . . . a code I have imposed on every soldier I ever served in leadership or spirit.

It has been burden enough for a troop commander to make an American of a man, before really beginning to make a soldier of him. And make no mistake—it is not possible to make a soldier of a man who has not first become a dedicated American.

It will be my purpose now, as a civilian, to attempt to do what I have found it no longer possible to do in uniform.

War has been declared.

Every man is a soldier.

I think of the words of the Marine General to his men:

"*We are surrounded. We must not let them get away.*"

Edwin A. Walker
Major General, US Army

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